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[669] ancy between the number of runaways in Virginia and South Carolina, he notes the presence of more African-born slaves among the captive runaway population in South Carolina. Thus the numbers of Africans in Carolina's slave population clearly accounts for some of the difference between the two colonies.

4. SCG, September 8 to September 15, 1759, October 23, 1751, November 25, 1751, May 28 to June 4, 1754, June 16, 1758.

5. Ibid., September 14 to September 21, 1747, June 25 to July 2, 1750; Eugene D. Genovese, *From Rebellion to Revolution: Afro-American Slave Revolts in the Making of the Modern World* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 69; Jill M. Watts, " 'We Do Not Live for Ourselves Only': Seminole Black Perceptions and the Second Seminole War," *UCLA Historical Journal* 7 (1986): 5-7; Herbert Aptheker, *American Negro Slave Revolts* (New York: International Publishers, 1967; repr. from 1943 ed.), 197-98; Philip D. Morgan, "Black Society in the Lowcountry, 1760-1810," in Ira Berlin and Ronald Hoffman, *Slavery and Freedom in the Age of the American Revolution* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1983), 92, 138.

6. SCG, March 4, 1756, April 29, 1754; Colonial Records of South Carolina, *Journal of the Commons House of Assembly, 1739-1741*, 230, 505; Watts, " 'We Do Not Live for Ourselves Only' ," 6-7.

7. Michael P. Johnson, "Runaway Slaves and the Slave Communities in South Carolina, 1799-1820," *William and Mary Quarterly* 38, no. 3 (July, 1981): 3, 418, 433-36, 441. Although Professor Johnson is dealing with a later period, his research is applicable for the eighteenth century; SCG, March 17, 1724, April 21, 1759.

8. SCG, September 17, 1772. This view of slavery in the Lowcountry, in terms of its harshness, is different from that of Philip Morgan. He cites, for example, the transition from a period of negative to one of positive increase, as an important indicator of less harsh conditions and more black autonomy. Yet Morgan's table on natural increase shows an annual rate of only 1.9 percent as the highest, from 1770-75. This rate of increase appears far too negligible to tell us much about better conditions. Morgan, "Black Society in the Lowcountry," 83-89.

9. SCG, September 17, 1772. For other manifestations of black assertion in urban Charleston see Peter H. Wood, " 'Taking Care of Business' in Revolutionary South Carolina: Republicanism and the Slave Society," in Jeffrey J. Crow and Larry E. Tise, eds., *The Southern Experience in the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1978), 268-93.

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11. Benjamin Quarles, *The Negro in the American Revolution* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1973; first pub. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press: 1961), Preface; Ira Berlin, "The Revolution in Black Life" in Alfred F. Young, ed. *The American Revolution: Explorations in the History of American Radicalism* (De Kalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1976), 351-52; J. Madison, Jr. to William Bradford, November 26, 1774 and July 10, 1775, William Bradford Collection, HSP; Wood, " 'Taking Care of Business' ," 283-87; and his " 'Impatient of Oppression': Black Freedom Struggles on the Eve of White Independence," *Southern Exposure* 28 (October, 1985): 606, 612-13.

12. Walter Brooks, "The Priority of the Silver Bluff Church and its Promoters," *Journal*

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cock Jones. But Jones began about ten years after Capers. See Touchstone, "Planters and Slave Religion," 39-45 and Raboteau, *Slave Religion*, 155-57.

11. Andrew, "Slave Population," 314-15.

12. *Ibid.*, 316-19, 322.

13. David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770-1823* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1975), 356-61, 365-66, 452-53, 460-62; E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York: Vintage Books, 1963), 350-62. For a different, more sympathetic view of the Methodists, see Sidney G. Diamond, *The Psychology of the Methodist Revival: An Empirical and Descriptive Study* (London: Oxford University Press, 1926), *passim*, especially 18-41, 87-103, 254-73.

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20. Pinckney to Capers, January 24, 1835, HSSCC; Mathews, *Slavery and Methodism*, 78-79; SCA, January 26, 1838.

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112 30. CAJ, January 31, 1834; Raboteau, *Slave Religion*, 189-90. The First African Church's association with white ministers and with the regional Baptist Association was anything but smooth. Because many members were slaves, the African Church was subjected to jurisdictions contrary to Baptist policy. In January 1833, Marshall was barred from preaching in his own pulpit, and the Church expelled from Georgia's Sunbury Association. This struggle and turmoil lasted for five years. The Church managed to keep its status, but lost many members before returning to the good graces of white Baptists. See Raboteau, *Slave Religion*, 189-94.

31. CAJ, October 4, 1833.

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41. Lucius Gaston Moffatt and Joseph Médard Carrière, "A Frenchman Visits Charleston, 1817," *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* 49, no. 2 (April, 1948): 141; Johnson, *Social History*, 22-29; Mikell, *Chariot Wheels*, 19-20; R. F. W. Allston, "Sea Coast Crops of the South," *Debow's Review*, XVI (January-June, 1854): 596-98; William Elliot, "On Cultivation of Sea Island Cotton," *Southern Agriculturalist* I (April, 1828): 154; Rosengarten, *Tombor*, 70, 72; Crum, *Gullah*, 233-34, U. B. Phillips, *American Negro Slavery* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1966, repr. from 1918 ed.), 153-54, 223-25. Philip Morgan takes a different view. He argues that Sea Island cotton cultivation resulted in less arduous slave labor and that the task system augmented black independence and autonomy. See his "Ownership of Property by Slaves in the Mid-Nineteenth-Century Low Country," *Journal of Southern History*, no. 3 (August, 1983): 399-405, and "Black Society in the Low Country," 106-7, 120-21.

42. Mikell, *Chariot Wheels*, 19-20; Allston, "Sea Coast Crops of the South," 596-98; Fripp Diary, passim; J. A. Turner, ed., *The Cotton Planter's Manual* (New York: Negro Universities Press, repr. from 1867 ed.) 135-36; Elliott, "Sea Island Cotton," 154; Thomas Lagare, "Preparation of Sea Island Cotton," *Southern Agriculturalist* II, ser. 2 (December, 1842): 626-27; R. King to P. Butler, October 31, 1824, December 5, 1824, box 33, folder 1, and March 1, 1835, box 33, fol. 5, Wistar Papers, Butler Section, HSP; Whitmarsh B. Seabrook, "A Memoir on the Origin, Cultivation and Uses of Cotton," *Proceedings of the Agricultural Convention and State Agricultural Society of South Carolina* (Charleston: Miller & Browne, 1844), 30; Diary of William F. Allen, 82-83 in William F. Allen Family Papers, 1775-1937, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison; Rosengarten, *Tombor*, 71-73.

43. Fripp Diary, passim; Towne Diary, 10, 20, 24, 32-33; R. King to P. Butler, Oct. 19, 24, and 31, 1824, box 33, fol. 1, Wistar Papers, Butler Section, HSP; Kemble, *Journal*, 174-75, 182-83, 189-92, 226-27, 233, 251, 263-64; King, Jr., "Management of Butler Estate," 3-4; Seabrook, "Memoir on Cotton," 30-31; Johnson, *Social History*; Elizabeth Ware Pearson, *Letters From Port Royal* (New York: Arno Press and New York Times, repr., 1969, repr. from 1906 ed.), 13, 31, 114; Willie Lee Rose, *Rebeard for Reconstruction: The Port Royal Experiment* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1964), 126-27.

44. Allen Diary, 136, 91; Towne Diary, 33.

45. Kemble, *Journal*, 120-21, 182-83, 189-205, 214, 226-27, 233, 263.

46. *Ibid.*, 135-36, 79-80.

47. Coffin Point Records Overseer report for 1818, SCHS; Fripp Diary, passim; Crum, *Gullah*, 244-45; Wightman, *Life of Capers*, 291; Pinckney, *Address*, 23-24 (Appendix); Johnson, *Social History*, 28-29, 106; W. E. B. DuBois, *The Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States of America, 1638-1870* (New York: Schocken Books, 1969; repr. from 1896 ed.), 180-86; James H. Cuthbert, *Life of Richard Fuller* (New York: Sheldon Co., 1878), 198; Federal Writers Program, Georgia, *Drums and Shadows* (Westport, Conn.:

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57. *CAJ*, January 31, 1834; Allen Diary, 37, 71, 87-88; Rev. W. T. Richardson to Rev. Whipple, July 3, 1863, AMA; Sherwood, "Walker Journal," 32-33, 40-41.
58. Blassingame, *Slave Testimony*, 377; Charlotte Forten, "Life on the Sea Islands," Part II, *Atlantic Monthly* 13 (June, 1864): 674; Allen Diary, 32, 143; Rawick, *American Slave, South Carolina*, II (1) 158-59, 162, 179-81, III (3) 273-75.
59. Allen Diary, 47-48, 103, 118, 136; Rosengarten, *Tombor*, 150-54, 164-65.
60. Allen Diary, 48, 62, 72, 84.
61. Rosengarten, *Tombor*, 456-58.
62. *Ibid.*, 124.
63. *Minutes, Beaufort Baptist Church*, March 31, 1849, 133, May 5, 1849, 134, June 30, 1849, 135, BC.
64. Thomas Wentworth Higginson to Louisa Higginson, October 23, 1863, Papers of Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Houghton Library, Harvard University; Allen Diary, 91-92; Typescript copy of Diary of Laura M. Towne (varies from Ms. Diary), April 3, 1862, Penn School Papers, vol. 1, SHC. Theodore Rosengarten perhaps in support of arguments favoring paternalism on the Sea Islands (a point on which we disagree), maintains that black sentiments toward masters "were sometimes not always understood or accurately rendered by the people who solicited information." He cites by example, Laura Towne's reaction to Clarence Fripp's relationship with his slave Rachel. They lived together openly, and during the war, Fripp deeded over his plantation to Rachel. Towne said Fripp "led an infamous life, too bad to write of, to vile to speak of." Rosengarten implies that Towne's disgust toward Fripp centered on his living with Rachel. Yet Laura Towne was not so naive as to condemn Fripp for this alone. However, she was very upset upon learning that Clarence and his two brothers passed Rachel around for sexual favors. "She lived with her master and his two brothers infamously and her children are almost white," wrote Towne. Thus Towne reacted to the wanton license exercised by the Fripps toward slave women. Rosengarten, *Tombor*, 166; Towne Diary Typescript, February 14, 1864, Penn School Papers, vol. 2, SHC.
65. *Minutes, Beaufort Baptist Church*, 162-274; Blassingame, *Slave Testimony*, 358-61, 450-53; Sherwood, "Walker Journal," 34; Fripp Diary, 60; Allen Diary, 103; Towne Diary, 14, 20.
66. Rosengarten, *Tombor*, 214-20; Towne Diary Typescript, April 3, 1862; Forten, "Sea Islands," Part I, 593.
67. *Minutes, Prince William Baptist Church*, May 20, 1865, 107, SCL.
68. March 14, 1824, in Lawton Family Papers, SCL; Black Swamp Church Mss., SCL; Rawick, *American Slave, South Carolina*, II (1) 158; William Tillinghast, *Address to Baptist Ministers of the U. S. Who Hold Slaves by A Minister of the Ministerial Conference of the Black River Association* (Antwerp, 1845), New-York Historical Society.
69. *Minutes, Savannah River Baptist Association*, November 21, 1835, 3-4; November 25, 1849, 9, BC; *Minutes, Beaufort Baptist Church*, September 12, 1840, 9, April 9, 1841, 15, BC.
70. *Minutes, Savannah River Baptist Association*, November 25, 1839, 9, BC.
71. Elizabeth Hyde Botume, *First Days Amongst the Contrabands* (New York: Arno Press and New York Times, 1968; repr. from 1893 ed.), 158-61; Rawick, *American Slave, South Carolina*, III (3) 201; Blassingame, *Slave Testimony*, 381.
72. Blassingame, *Slave Testimony*, 374-76.
73. Rosengarten, *Tombor*, 155; Laura M. Towne to Wendell Phillips Garrison, June 8, 1867, Antislavery Papers, Rare Book Room Cornell University.

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